

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MANILA 5898

EXDIS

USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, MARR, MASS, SHUM, US, RP
SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. MARCOS

1. WHEN ASST SECRETARY AND MRS. HOLBROOKE ARRIVED IN
MANILA APRIL 17, THEY WERE UNEXPECTEDLY MET AT AIRPORT
BY THE BROTHER OF MRS. MARCOS, GOVERNOR KOKOY ROMUALDEZ.
IN HIS TYPICALLY INCOHERENT WAY, HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW
THAT HOLBROOKE SHOULD SPEND "INFORMAL" TIME WITH
PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT HERE. PRIOR TO ARRIVAL OF
CODEL WOLFF KOKOY DISAPPEARED BEFORE ANY DETAILS OF
THIS SUGGESTION COULD BE DEVELOPED.

2. HOWEVER, ON APRIL 18, WHILE HOLBROOKE WAS VISITING
CLARK AND SUBIC, MARCOS EXTENDED SUGGESTION THROUGH
UNDER SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLLANTES THAT
HOLBROOKE SCRAP HIS SCHEDULE FOR APRIL 19 (WHICH HAD
ALREADY BEEN AGREED) AND THAT HOLBROOKES AND SULLIVAN
SHOULD SPEND NIGHT OF APRIL 18 AND DAY OF APRIL 19 ABOARD
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PRESIDENTIAL YACHT FOR "INFORMAL" DISCUSSIONS. FOR
SEVERAL REASONS, INCLUDING OBLIGATIONS TO CODEL WOLFF AND
DESIRE TO LET HOLBROOKES BE EXPOSED TO FULL
FORCE OF MARCOS "TREATMENT," SULLIVANS BEGGED OFF FROM
YACHT TRIP AND HOLBROOKES TOOK THE DEEP DOUCHE ON THEIR
OWN.

3. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF HOLBROOKE'S DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. MARCOS AND OTHER GOP OFFICIALS DURING THEIR CRUISE TO BATAAN, CORREGIDOR AND MANILA BAY.

A. JAPAN. HOLBROOKE ASSURED MARCOS WE WOULD NOT TALK TO ASIA THROUGH TOKYO AND THAT TOKYO WOULD NOT BE SPOKESMAN FOR ASIA. MARCOS REPLIED "WONDERFUL."

B. HOLBROOKE REMINDED MARCOS THAT WE HAD RECENTLY SENT A MESSAGE TO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES THROUGH FUKUDA ONLY BECAUSE FUKUDA WAS THE CHANNEL THE ASEANS HAD USED IN CONVEYING TO THE USG THEIR CONCERN ABOUT FUTURE US POLICY IN ASIA.

C. ON THREE OCCASIONS MARCOS ASKED HOLBROOKE IF HE THOUGHT THE JAPANESE WOULD REARM. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT IT WAS HIS STRONG IMPRESSION THAT THEY WOULD NOT, ALTHOUGH WE MIGHT SEE SOME QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE INCREASE IN JAPAN'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES. HOLBROOKE ADDED THAT WE DO NOT ENVISAGE JAPAN ASSUMING A REGIONAL SECURITY ROLE.

D. MARCOS ASKED THEN HOW WE VIEWED THE FUTURE OF JAPANESE ROLE IN THE WORLD. HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT WE SEE A MAJOR JAPANESE ECONOMIC ROLE, IN TANDEM WITH THE U.S. AND GERMAN ECONOMIES, WORKING TOWARD INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC EXPANSION. HE ADDED THAT WE COULD NOT VIEW JAPAN AS SIMPLY AN "ECONOMIC ANIMAL" SINCE THE STRENGTH OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY WAS BOUND TO HAVE SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. WE THEREFORE EXPECTED JAPAN TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE, ESPECIALLY IN ASIA.

E. MARCOS EXPRESSED DEEP ANXIETY CONCERNING JAPANESE AS DID ALL FILIPINOS ON YACHT, TALKING CONSTANTLY OF SUFFERING
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THE PHILIPPINES HAD SUFFERED AT HANDS OF JAPANESE DURING WAR, WHILE FIGHTING FOR U.S.

4. CHINA. IN RESPONSE TO MARCOS' QUESTION, HOLBROOKE OUTLINED THE ADMINISTRATION'S CHINA POLICY. WE WOULD TRY TO MOVE TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS AND WOULD LOOK INTO THIS LATER THIS YEAR. PRESIDENT CARTER, HOWEVER, IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE STATUS OF TAIWAN. HOLBROOKE NOTED THAT THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT IS A FUNDAMENTAL GEOPOLITICAL ELEMENT IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. APPARENTLY WHEN MARCOS WAS IN PEKING, PRC PLAYED ON HIS FEELINGS ABOUT JAPANESE, AND DID NOT APPARENTLY STRESS ANTI-SOVIET LINE.

5. VIETNAM. HOLBROOKE ALSO DISCUSSED OUR CURRENT EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. HE STRESSED THAT ANY AID WHICH WE MIGHT PROVIDE TO VIETNAM WOULD NOT BE GIVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF ASEAN COUNTRIES. MARCOS DID NOT EVINCE ANY PARTICULAR CONCERN ABOUT THIS

AREA OF U.S. POLICY, IN CONTRAST WITH SUHARTO AND LEE
KUAN YEW.

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USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

6. THE WAR IN THE SOUTH. MARCOS INITIALLY DISCUSSED
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN MINDANAO IN RATHER OPTIMISTIC
TERMS. HE PROVIDED NO CLEAR DETAILS AS TO HOW PEACE
MIGHT BE ACHIEVED, HOWEVER, AND AS THE DISCUSSION PROGRESSED
HE APPEARED TO MOVE AWAY FROM HIS INITIAL OPTIMISM.
HOLBROOKE'S COMMENT TO THE DEPARTMENT: THE IMPRESSION IS
THAT THE GOP LEADERSHIP HAS NO IDEA WHAT IS GOING ON
RESPECTING MINDANAO. THE FILIPINOS SEEMED TO HAVE PLACED
ALL THEIR EGGS IN QADHAFI'S BASKET. END COMMENT.

7. MILITARY BASES NEGOTIATIONS.

A. MARCOS STATED THAT SOME ISSUES NEED PRIOR
CLARIFICATION.

(1) THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY TO THE
WAR POWERS ACT.

(2) THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE STORAGE/DEPLOYMENT OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHICH HE FELT SHOULD BE SPECIFICALLY
MENTIONED IN ANY AGREEMENT.

(3) "THE NATURE OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF SELFRELIANCE IN THE
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DEFENSE POSTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES." MARCOS NOTED THAT HE WAS NOT SATISFIED BY EXCHANGES THUS FAR ON THIS POINT. HE ADDED THAT "WE WOULD LIKE MORE ROUNDED DISCUSSIONS OF MILITARY NEEDS BETWEEN OUR MILITARY AND YOURS AND THEN MOVE THE MATTER TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL."

B. MARCOS STATED THAT "RENT IS THE SOLUTION." THE SIZE OF THE RENT WOULD DEPEND ON A NUMBER OF FACTORS, E.G. HOW FAST THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO COME TO THE DEFENSE OF THE PHILIPPINES. HE ENVISAGES THE ELIMINATION OF GRANT MAP EXCEPT FOR TRAINING.

C. HOLBROOKE RECALLED THAT THE BASES CAME INTO BEING DURING A PERIOD WHEN THE U.S. AND THE PHILIPPINES JOINTLY PERCEIVED A UNIFIED COMMUNIST THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION, THE PRC, NORTH VIETNAM, ETC. THIS IS ALL NOW CHANGED. CHINA IS NO LONGER AN AGGRESSIVE THREAT TO THE PHILIPPINES AND IS SATISFIED WITH THE STATUS QUO HERE. THE U.S. WILL BE TALKING TO HANOI WITHIN TWO WEEKS IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE TOWARD NORMALIZATION. WE SHOULD ALL BE ABLE TO AGREE THAT WE MUST CONTAIN ANY SOVIET EFFORT TO EXPAND IN THE AREA. THE REAL DANGER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS INSTABILITY THROUGH INTERNAL COLLAPSE INDUCED BY SUBVERSION AND A LACK OF AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE SHOULD WORK WITH SUCH INSTITUTIONS AS THE ADB AND ASEAN IN PROMOTING THIS NEEDED ECONOMIC RESPONSE.

D. HOLBROOKE TOLD MARCOS HE THOUGHT THAT THE REMAINING BASES ISSUES WERE RESOLVABLE BUT THAT HE DID NOT THINK WE SHOULD RUSH INTO NEGOTIATIONS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE BASES TALKS BE PLACED IN THE CONTEXT OF A REVITALIZED U.S.-PHILIPPINE RELATION. MARCOS AGREED THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO RUSH INTO A RENEWAL OF NEGOTIATIONS. HOLBROOKE ALSO FLOATED INFORMALLY THE IDEA OF EMPLOYING A SEPARATE NEGOTIATOR, OTHER THAN THE AMBASSADOR, WHEN DISCUSSIONS ARE RESUMED.

E. ROMULO RECOUNTED HIS VERSION OF THE BREAKDOWN OF TALKS WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER LATE LAST YEAR. HE
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SAID THAT KISSINGER TRIED TO RUSH HIM INTO AN AGREEMENT WHICH WAS NOT AN AGREEMENT. KISSINGER LEAKED THE DISCUSSIONS IN ORDER TO PRESSURE US INTO AN AGREEMENT. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT. IT WAS SLOPPY.

F. DND SECRETARY ENRILE REFERRED TO A PHILIPPINE NOTE DELIVERED TO KISSINGER WHICH RAISED THREE QUESTIONS, ONE OF WHICH CONCERNED THE TREATY OF PARIS "BOUNDARIES." BOTH MARCOS AND ENRILE SAID THAT KISSINGER HAD AGREED TO THESE "BOUNDARIES" IN ONE OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE

GOP NEGOTIATORS. ROMULO ALSO REFERRED TO THE QUESTIONS OF DEFINING THE "METROPOLITAN TERRITORY OF THE PHILIPPINES" WHICH HAD BEEN RAISED IN THE SAME NOTE. HE SAID THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAD GIVEN HIM A PAPER ON THIS. (THIS APPEARS TO BE A GROSS EXAGGERATION OF FACTS.)

8. HUMAN RIGHTS.

A. THE MAJOR PORTION OF HOLBROOKE'S DISCUSSIONS WERE DEVOTED TO THIS AREA. IN AN INITIAL PRIVATE MEETING WITH MRS. MARCOS, SHE COMMENTED THAT "MARCOS IS THE LAST PRO-U.S. PRESIDENT THIS COUNTRY WILL HAVE. WE LOVE THE U.S. BUT RELATIONS HAVE GONE DOWN IN THE LAST TEN YEARS DESPITE OUR HELP IN VIETNAM." HOLBROOKE NOTED THERE IS ONE ISSUE WHICH WORKS AGAINST CLOSEST RELATIONS. MRS. MARCOS RESPONDED "YES, HUMAN RIGHTS." HOLBROOKE THEN MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THERE IS A NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON WHICH PLACES A PREMIUM ON HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE;

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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--OMISSIONS/CORRECTIONS)

USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

-- AQUINO AND LOPEZ/OSMENA HAVE BEEN INCARCERATED FOR ALMOST FIVE YEARS; TEN LOWER ECHELON FIGURES IN THE LOPEZ/OSMENA AFFAIR AND MANY OTHERS HAVE BEEN DETAINED

FOR LONG PERIODS WITHOUT TRIAL.

-- THERE IS STILL SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST IN THE CASES
IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THEY ARE GENERALLY
CONSIDERED OUTSTANDING MANIFESTATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS;

-- SENATOR AQUINO HAS REPORTEDLY SIGNIFIED HIS
WILLINGNESS TO LIVE ABROAD;

-- AT A TIME WHEN MARCOS HAS PARDONED ACTIVE REBELS
IN THE MNLF AND FREED MANY FIGURES PROMINENT IN THE
CPP/ML, THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF AQUINO, LOPEZ/
OSMENA AND OTHERS IS STRIKING, AND

-- PROMPT AND COMPASSIONATE RESOLUTION OF THESE
CASES WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS AN EARNEST OF GOP INTENTIONS
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CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS.

B. HOLBROOKE SUBSEQUENTLY MADE THE SAME PRESENTATION
TO MARCOS, REITERATING PRESIDENT CARTER'S STRONG
FEELING ABOUT THE ISSUE AND NOTING THAT THE MARCOS
REGIME IS CLEARLY STRONG ENOUGH TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS
IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. HOLBROOKE ASKED THAT
MARCOS SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO THIS. HE REPEATED
THAT IT WAS OF PERSONAL IMPORTANCE TO PRESIDENT CARTER
AND THAT IT WOULD SOLIDIFY U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE PHILIPPINES
IN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HOLBROOKE
NOTED THAT WE "HAD NOT YET SINGLED OUT ANY
ASIAN COUNTRY IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONTEXT." HE ADDED POINTEDLY
HOWEVER THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S WILLINGNESS
TO REMAIN RETICENT IS LIMITED AND THAT HE WOULD
HAVE TO SPEAK OUT AT SOME POINT. MARCOS ASKED HOLBROOKE
TO TELL THE PRESIDENT "WE'LL TAKE CARE OF IT". AT ONE POINT
MARCOS SOUGHT TO LINK MOVEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO IMPROVE-
MENT IN THE MUSLIM SITUATION, BUT HOLBROOKE STATED THAT
THAT SUCH LINKAGE IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. MARCOS ADDED THAT
HE HAD ALREADY PREPARED A REPLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S
RECENT PERSONAL MESSAGE BUT THAT NOW HE WOULD WISH TO
REWRITE IT.

C. MARCOS ALSO SAID, DURING "FORMAL" MEETING,
THAT HE WAS CONCERNED THAT IF HE RELEASED AQUINO AND
OTHERS, "THEY WOULD BE LIONIZED BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS,"
AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO BUKOVSKY'S RECEPTION AT WHITE
HOUSE AS WELL AS RAUL MANG LAPUS' ACCESS IN U.S. HOLBROOKE
REPLIED THAT MARCOS SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED WITH WHAT
PEOPLE SAID IN U.S. ABOUT HIS GOVERNMENT; IF IT WAS
TRULY STRONG IT WOULD NOT BE HURT BY CRITICISM. HOLBROOKE
ALSO TOLD MARCOS THAT MANG LAPUS WAS A PERSONAL FRIEND AND THAT HE
SAW HIM OCCASIONALLY. MRS. MARCOS ADDED THAT HOLBROOKE SHOULD
TELL PRESIDENT CARTER "WE REALLY UNDERSTAND HIS VIEWS.
WE'RE REALLY GOING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT AQUINO AND THE OTHERS."

D. HOLBROOKE ALSO RAISED THE WIDEMAN CASE WITH THE

MARCOSES AS WELL AS WITH ROMULO AND COLLANTES. EMBASSY HAS
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REPORTED THIS BY SEPTTEL.

E. AT END OF TRIP, BOTH MR. AND
MRS. MARCOS TOOK HOLBROOKE ASIDE SEPARATELY TO REPEAT
THEIR EARLIER REQUEST THAT THEY WANT PRESIDENT CARTER
TO KNOW PERSONALLY THAT THEY WILL MOVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AND THAT THEY WOULD DO THIS AS A PERSONAL EFFORT TO
IMPROVE U.S.-PHILIPPINES RELATIONS. HOLBROOKE REPLIED
THAT HE WAS SURE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD BE WATCHING
THE SITUATION CAREFULLY, AND THAT PROGRESS WAS ESSENTIAL.

9. HIGH-LEVEL U.S. VISITORS. DURING THE DISCUSSION
MARCOS INDICATED TO HOLBROOKE THAT HE WOULD BE VERY
HAPPY IF HAROLD BROWN AND CYRUS VANCE COULD VISIT THE
PHILIPPINES IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

10. COMMENT: YACHT TRIP AND "HIS AND HERS" MESSAGE IS
STANDARD MARCOS TREATMENT FOR NEW PERSONAGES ON U.S.
POLITICAL SCENE. HOWEVER, THIS INFORMAL SETTING GAVE
HOLBROOKE GREATER OPPORTUNITY THAN MIGHT
OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN PROVIDED TO TAKE MEASURE OF MARCOS
MENAGE AND TO GET ACROSS A FEW TELLING POINTS ON CARTER
ADMINISTRATION. IT IS CLEAR THAT MARCOS (AND ESPECIALLY
IMELDA) FEEL OUT OF TOUCH WITH CURRENT WASHINGTON SCENE
(WHICH IS AT OPPOSITE POLES FROM THEIR VALUE SYSTEM) AND
THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO ESTABLISH SOME CONTACT WITH ITS MAIN
STREAM. IT IS DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT, IN THEIR CRASS
AND CYNICAL WORLD, THEY WOULD FIND ANY REASON TO MAKE
OTHER THAN COSMETIC CONCESSIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO OBTAIN
INTANGIBLES WHICH THEY CAN NOT YET DISCERN. THE HOLBROOKE
CONVERSATION WAS NEVERTHELESS A VERY EFFECTIVE OVERTURE
TO EXPLAIN TO THIS HARDNOSED, SELF-SERVING DIARCHY THE
FACT THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO BE
GENEROUS TO ITS ALLIES, BUT ONLY IF THERE IS SOME HARMONY
IN MUTUAL VALUES. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO ASSESS WHAT
SORT OF GIMMICKRY THEY WILL SUMMON TO COPE WITH THIS
FACT.

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SULLIVAN

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